

The German-American Radical Press

The Shaping of a Left Political Culture, 1850–1940

Edited by
Elliott Shore, Ken Fones-Wolf, and
James P. Danky

Wilhelm Weitling, one of the many German radicals who fled into exile after 1848, noted in the New York newspaper he founded that “everyone wants to put out a little paper.” The 48ers and those who came after them strengthened their immigrant culture with a seemingly endless stream of newspapers, magazines, and calendars. In these *Kampfblätter*, or newspapers of the struggle, German immigrant journalists preached socialism, organized labor, and free thought. These “little papers” were the forerunners of a press that would remain influential for nearly a century.

From the several perspectives of the new labor history, this volume emphasizes the importance of the German-American radical press to an understanding of American social history in the age of industrialism and illuminates the complexities of the interaction of immigrant radicalism and American culture.

Chicago’s German-language socialist weekly, *Der Vorbote*, claimed in 1880 that “the history of the workers’ movement in the United States is at the same time the history of the workers’ press.” Hyperbolic perhaps, but to judge by the energy and resources German-American radicals devoted to their press, many immigrants agreed.

The radical movement in the United States met with problems as well as support. Language and culture frequently divided the radicals, and class consider-

The German-American Radical Press

*The Shaping of a Left Political
Culture, 1850–1940*

EDITED BY

Elliott Shore

Ken Fones-Wolf

James P. Danky

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS
Urbana and Chicago

© 1992 by the Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois
Manufactured in the United States of America

C 5 4 3 2 1

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The German-American radical press : the shaping of a left political
culture, 1850–1940 / edited by Elliott Shore, Ken Fones-Wolf, James
P. Danky.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-252-01830-3

1. German-American newspapers—History. 2. German-American
periodicals—History. 3. German Americans—Politics and government.
4. Political culture—United States—History. 5. Radicalism—United
States—History. I. Shore, Elliott, 1951– . II. Fones-Wolf,
Ken. III. Danky, James Philip, 1947– .

PN4885.G3G47 1992

071'.3'08931—dc20

91-22855

CIP

Contents

Acknowledgments vii

Elliott Shore, Ken Fones-Wolf, and James P. Danky

Introduction 1

I. The Radical Editors

Hartmut Keil

A Profile of Editors of the German-American
Radical Press, 1850–1910 15

II. From 48er Radicalism to a Working-Class Press

Steven Rowan

Franz Schmidt and the *Freie Blätter* of St. Louis, 1851–53 31

John B. Jentz

The 48ers and the Politics of the German Labor
Movement in Chicago during the Civil War Era:
Community Formation and the Rise of a Labor Press 49

Ken Fones-Wolf and Elliott Shore

The German Press and Working-Class Politics in
Gilded-Age Philadelphia 63

III. A Press and a Culture

Bruce C. Nelson

Arbeiterpresse und Arbeiterbewegung: Chicago's Socialist and Anarchist Press, 1870–1900

81

Carol Poore

The Pionier Calendar of New York City: Chronicler of German-American Socialism

108

Ruth Seifert

Women's Pages in the German-American Radical Press, 1900–1914: The Debate on Socialism, Emancipation, and the Suffrage

122

IV. Radical Visions

Richard Oestreicher

Robert Reitzel, Der Arme Teufel

147

Paul Buhle

Ludwig Lore and the New Yorker Volkszeitung: The Twilight of the German-American Socialist Press

168

Dirk Hoerder

The German-American Labor Press and Its Views of the Political Institutions in the United States

182

Moses Rischin

Envoi

201

Hartmut Keil

Appendix: List of Editors/Journalists of German-American Radical Papers, 1865–1914

213

Selected Bibliography

221

Notes on Contributors

237

Index

241

Acknowledgments

The editors would like to thank their respective institutions for encouraging the work that helped to make this volume possible: the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey; the University of Massachusetts-Amherst; West Virginia University; and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. We would also like to thank the Max Kade Institute of the University of Wisconsin, which provided the impetus for a number of the essays in this volume. Special thanks are due to Gail Malmgreen of the Tamiment Library, New York University, for her critical comments on an early version of the manuscript, and to Denise Diamond of the Institute for Advanced Study, for her work in preparing the text for publication. We are especially grateful to Pat Hollahan, of the University of Illinois Press, for improving a manuscript of diverse essays into what we hope the reader will find to be a unified work.

Introduction

Few communities in America were as intricately connected with their newspapers as were German-American radicals. Wilhelm Weitling, a self-educated tailor who had become a prominent utopian socialist in Germany and who helped to organize the Arbeiterbund and to establish a utopian colony in Communia, Iowa, was one of the first to comment on this phenomenon. Writing in 1850 in the New York radical paper he founded, *Die Republik der Arbeiter*, Weitling said of German-American radicals:

Everybody wants to put out a little paper, everybody wants to lead an association, everybody wants to start a fund, everybody wants to be a teacher, interpreting everything on his own for the people. Over here is someone who mixes decentralization with socialism, while over there another mixes atheism with reason, and a third person does socialist gymnastics, while the fourth works for decisive progress. The first person wants to create a society for the spirit, the second for mankind, the third for the people, the fourth for the workers, one for singers, another for tailors, for gymnasts, for refugees, and so forth. And a hundred others also want all of this, but each with a little difference.¹

As Weitling's comments suggest, by 1850 there were myriad variations in the German-American radical scene. Indeed, they had been apparent for almost a generation. Political refugees who arrived in the 1830s helped to revitalize the press in the German-American communities where they found refuge, whether it was the famous Philadelphia paper *Alte und Neue Welt*, the *Freiheitsfreund* in Chambersburg, the *Weltbürger* in Cincinnati, or Philadelphia's *Der Freisinnige*. Working-class immigrants in the 1840s established their own papers, beginning

with what was probably the first truly German worker's paper published in the United States—*Der Adoptivbürger*, edited by Georg Dietz in Philadelphia in 1845, which was followed closely by *Der Volks-Tribun* in 1846 in New York City.² In these early years it would have been quite difficult to classify the German papers politically because of the enormous impact that would follow the series of revolutions in Europe in 1848 and the subsequent addition of 48ers to the staffs of established papers. The prominence of radical sentiments is clear in a contemporary history of the Germans in America written in 1855, which stated flatly that the most important papers in America were the *Deutsche Schnellpost* of New York, followed closely by the *Anzeiger des Westens* of St. Louis.³ The *Schnellpost* was famous for publishing correspondence from the emerging socialist movement in Germany, as well as being linked to the movement in France, and the *Anzeiger* was the imaginative paper published by the 48er Heinrich Börnstein, important to both the European and American radical movements (see Rowan's essay in this volume). These papers were of course not without their critics, some (like Weitling) sympathetic, but others more caustic, such as a recent immigrant who complained to his father about the paper he enclosed (almost certainly the *Schnellpost*): "You'll see that it is an indifferently edited paper that is entirely one-sided and overflowing with exaggerated liberal ideas." Yet even critics had to admit that the papers were influential.⁴

These early papers were the forerunners of a press which was to be large and important for about a century. To put together an anthology that covers the entire spectrum of the German-American radical press would be a daunting project. Instead, what this anthology has attempted to do is to offer some thematic essays which provide a broad-based view of the complexity and richness of this press. Similarly, our definition of radical is broad, including everything that Wilhelm Weitling discussed and more, from free thought to socialism, from working people's papers to the *Turner*, from anarchists to feminists. Unfortunately, we do not have contributions on all of these variations. We do not specifically discuss the *Turner* papers, nor do we look at the work of Karl Heinzen and Johann Most, to mention two important editors. But we do hope to provide in these essays a long-overdue addition to what we know about the importance of the German-language radical press, to indicate its significance in a century of American history. And we point, in Moses Rischin's Envoi, to some unanswered questions and some directions that future research might take. What we have highlighted here is the period from 1870 to 1910, when the social democratic press was at its height, and we have chosen to do

so because these anarchist, socialist, and trade-union papers, unlike those of the 48ers, have been virtually neglected. This is a step toward redressing that imbalance.

The tendency toward political differences to which Weitling alluded was, of course, hardly restricted to what could be called the radical press of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The first prominent German-American newspaper dynasty, that of the Christopher Sauer family, clashed in its *Germantäuner Zeitung* and *Pennsylvanische Staats Courier* with the prorevolutionary Heinrich Miller, editor of the *Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote*.⁵ Religious differences, length of stay in America, and points of origin in Germany all helped fuel the desire for diversity among the German-American community from its very inception. In Milwaukee, perhaps the archetypical German-American city, the importance and diversity of the press was apparent almost from the birth of the city. The first German journal appeared in 1844 and half of the new papers issued in the 1850s—fifteen of thirty—were in German, including several radical ones: *Grad' Aus*, *Humanist*, and a feminist radical monthly edited by Franziska Anneke, *Frauenzeitung*.⁶

When viewed in comparison with the other foreign-language papers in the United States, the extent of the German-American press in general, and its large radical subsection in particular, is little short of astonishing. From about 1880 to the turn of the century, at least two-thirds of all foreign-language newspapers in the country were in German. In 1890, for example, there were more than one thousand German newspapers published in America, and only 278 other foreign-language papers (eighty-four of which were Scandinavian).⁷ One reason for the huge number of papers is that, except for the Irish, the Germans were the largest immigrant group to come to the United States. Four million German-speaking immigrants arrived in the second half of the nineteenth century. And, to give just Chicago as an example, in 1900 two-thirds of these were still in working-class immigrant households.⁸ The German press in nineteenth-century America was such a strong force in certain states that it successfully lobbied for laws mandating the publication of official notices in German. In Pennsylvania, the German press even had its own organization in the 1860s and 1870s.⁹ And German-American printers formed their own union, *Deutsch-Amerikanische Typographia*, which flourished from the 1870s through World War II.¹⁰

The percentage of German-language radical papers as a total of the whole was also significant. The key research in this field has been done by the Labor Migration Project and Labor Newspaper Preservation Project at the University of Bremen (see Hoerder's essay in this

volume for more detail). The absolute numbers of papers increased from the 1840s to the early 1890s, and there were many more German-language and Nordic-language radical and working-class papers than for any other language group. The project estimates a total of about 240 German and 160 Northern European labor and radical periodicals in the period from the 1840s to the 1940s. From the 1840s to the 1860s, more than 60 papers were established by radical 48ers, utopian socialists, and workers' clubs. The golden period was from 1870 to 1902, when more than 120 periodicals were founded, including citywide labor papers, union papers, and papers of socialist and anarchist groups. From 1902 to 1920, the project found, German-American radicals were reading the English-language radical press, and so only 20 new papers were born. In the 1930s and 1940s, there was a new upsurge of the German-language radical press, by refugees from Germany and German-American antifascists.¹¹

The work included here builds upon four distinct phases in the writing of the history of the German-American radical press. The first features the memoirs of participants and early histories that appeared in the first German-American historical journals, such as *Der Deutsche Pionier*, *Americana Germanica*, and the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, on which much of the later historical work has been based. This was followed closely by investigations, such as William Frederic Kamman's *Socialism in German-American Literature* (1917) and Adolph Eduard Zucker's *Robert Reitzel* (1917), which were largely descriptive and fairly sympathetic to the radical past they described.

The third phase followed swiftly on the heels of World War I. Robert E. Park, who had been secretary to Booker T. Washington, wrote *The Immigrant Press and Its Control* (1922), commissioned by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and published in a series of Americanization studies, which was motivated by a concept Park helped to develop: assimilationism.¹² Park asserted two primary things about the foreign-language press in general, and the radical press specifically, that continued to shape the field until the 1960s, and was instrumental in the debate that emerged in the 1920s about the concept of ethnicity in the social sciences. He argued that the ethnic press in general was a transitional phenomenon which, at its best, helped to ease the process of assimilation, preserving the ethnic heritage of the group in its first generation as it counseled its members on how to become Americans. At its worst, however, in its radical manifestation, the immigrant press, and specifically its German element, struggled against the current in American life, misleading and slowing down the natural tendency toward acculturation.

This view of the press was considerably softened in the still standard work of Carl Wittke, who, after World War II, wrote in the accepted "Americanizing" vein that Park had done so much to establish—reading a teleological pattern back into the German-American press tradition. Wittke also valued those publications whose language and literary tastes tended toward the elite tradition in German culture, especially when he was writing about the radical press. Biographer of two of the foremost 48er radicals, Karl Heinzen (*Against the Current* [1945]) and Wilhelm Weitling (*The Utopian Communist* [1950]), Wittke was sympathetic to an important portion of the radical past of German-America, but still he tried to fit that past into a framework, not of his own making, which dominated American radical scholarship in the 1950s and early 1960s. The prevailing model, which appears also in the radical historiography of Howard Quint and David Shannon, tried to incorporate the radicalism of the pre-World War I socialists into a consensus mode, arguing (in Wittke's case) that the absence of press censorship in the United States gave the German radicals a freedom which was liberating but which ultimately failed to make headway in America. Wittke's work strongly evokes the German-American press in general and the radical press in particular, despite the constraints under which he worked.

The current trend, begun in the 1960s, is characterized by the ground-breaking work of Hartmut Keil and Dirk Hoerder. Unlike Wittke, who looked at only thirty German-American newspapers in compiling his general history and three in his chapter on the radical press, Hoerder, assisted by Christiane Harzig in Bremen and by specialists all over Europe and North America, has unearthed and described hundreds of German-American radical papers, as well as the radical press of the other European language groups in America. Extending and deepening the monumental bibliographical work of Karl Arndt and May Olson, Hoerder, working with files of newspapers held in both the United States and Europe, has used this material to go beyond the questions that Park and Wittke asked by looking closely at the contents of the German-American radical press. Likewise, in their work on Chicago, Keil and John Jentz made the ideas and words of those Americans whose working-class movements spoke another language accessible for the first time to American historians who do not use other than English-language sources.

They have uncovered the same rich diversity that Weitling knew, and to an extent despaired of, in 1850. Instead of seeing in the general ethnic press the march to the melting pot and in the maintenance of cultural identity a sentimental longing for a world that was beyond

their reach, the new generation of ethnic historians is looking at the words and actions of the radical German-American men and women in the context of their times. They are finding a rich pattern that belies the prescriptive approach of the preceding generation of historians. Through Dirk Hoerder and Christiane Harzig's *Immigrant Labor Press in North America* (3 volumes, 1987–88); Carol Poore's *German-American Socialist Literature 1865–1900* (1982); Keil and Jentz's *German Worker's Culture in the United States 1850 to 1920* (1988); Dirk Hoerder and Thomas Weber's *Glimpses of the German-American Radical Press* (1985); Steven Rowan's *Germans for a Free Missouri: Translations from the St. Louis Radical Press, 1857–1862*; and Ulrike Heider's *Der Arme Teufel: Robert Reitzel, von Vormärz zum Haymarket* (1986), a more fully developed historical view of the German-American radical past is emerging.¹³

This anthology is a contribution to that effort. Earlier versions of about half of these essays came out of a conference on the German-American press held under the auspices of the Max Kade Institute at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, in the fall of 1987. For this volume, those essays were considerably revised and expanded, and additional pieces by Carol Poore, Bruce Nelson, and Richard Oestreicher were commissioned. An earlier version of John Jentz's essay was read at the American Historical Association's 1988 conference. In his concluding essay, Moses Rischin, who helped to strengthen a number of the essays through his comments at the conference, explores further avenues for research in the field.

Alternatives to the standard reading of assimilation are offered here, together with more sensitive readings of the nature of German-American radicalism. Hartmut Keil starts with Wittke's assertion that the 48ers boosted a waning press tradition by applying the same pattern to the next generation of German-American radical immigrants, most notably the socialist and trade-union refugees from the newly founded German state, a group that has never been extensively studied before. Using life stories, painstakingly re-created largely on the basis of material made accessible through Dirk Hoerder's bibliographical project, Keil makes a first approximation of a collective biography which sheds light on social, cultural, and economic standing. The work of these new exiles for the radical press reveals an important dimension in German-American ethnic identity, for they brought a revitalized language and culture to a community that was losing its first generation of native speakers. Ironically, the radical press "claimed to be the true heirs of the German high cultural tradition, whereas in their opinion German-American middle-class papers had given in to mass popular tastes and lower standards, especially when it came

to writing German and propagating German classical literature" (Keil, p. 26).

Ken Fones-Wolf and Elliott Shore directly confront one of the hardy perennials of ethnic history—the move to assimilation—by looking at two periods of labor unrest in Philadelphia through the medium of both the Republican and Democratic German-American dailies and the one avowedly labor and radical paper. What they find seriously undermines received wisdom about group unity and assimilation in the large German working-class community of Philadelphia in the 1870s and 1880s. Instead of heeding calls for communal solidarity in the 1870s, German working-class leaders began to call on their fellow workers to learn English in order to desert the German-American press in favor of the city's more sympathetic English-language paper. Yet less than a generation later, German-American radical workers turned away from the larger goals of a united working-class movement, seeking instead to reinforce intra-ethnic group solidarity for more immediate goals.

Nowhere is the complexity of the German-American radical past articulated more clearly than in the women's page of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (NYVZ). Ruth Seifert's research carefully re-creates the positions taken by such leaders as Meta Stern and Johanna Greie-Cramer. Where Wittke assigns one paragraph in his work to two women journalists,¹⁴ Seifert opens up a world in which women pose the difficult questions that the German-American socialist men were not ready to try to answer. Although ostensibly a part of the "Sunday supplement" that would offer women instruction in socialism by providing orthodox propositions for them to learn, the women's page, unlike similar pages in newspapers in Germany, quickly became a forum for the discussion of a wide range of issues relating to women—a forum in which the orthodox position did not prevail. Seifert shows how suffrage, to take one of many issues, pointed up the contradictions of male-dominated German-American socialism.

The views held by the NYVZ were significant not only for German-American women but for all American socialists, women and men. As Paul Buhle shows, the NYVZ, a daily for fifty-four years and a weekly for twelve more, was the standard American Marxist newspaper. In its pages, the practical positions of, and the possibilities for, an American Marxism were played out, anchored in an ethnic community from which it drew support. Buhle reveals that the NYVZ and its editor, Ludwig Lore, were independent and sensitive to variations in both Marxist theory and American life, reminding us of the promise that American socialism held out and the dilemmas it posed.

Much of the richness of German-American socialism is missed

through a narrowly political reading of the NYVZ, and of the radical press in general. The NYVZ published such writers as Covington Hall and Miriam Allen DeFord and sponsored a yearly calendar which prospered as long as the daily newspaper. The *Pionier* calendar, in a long historical tradition dating from the invention of printing, aimed to provide a popular cultural framework for the year in the German-American home. Filled with stories, sketches, art reproductions, humor, and political writing, this fifty-year success story in radical publishing showed what an alternative culture looked like. Carol Poore samples some of the diversity of that culture, which rendered political such acts as interior decorating and choices for popular reading. Perhaps more than any other of the publications of the radical press, the *Pionier* calendar shows the modern reader what it meant for a household to be both German-American and socialist.

The nature of the business practices of these papers brings another part of the German-American radical experience into focus by demonstrating how the German ethnic community dealt with the lack of capital for developing its newspapers. In Chicago, as Bruce Nelson shows, all of the radical publications were issued by publishing societies, with Germans of various radical affiliations banding together to buy stock and running the noncommercial papers on a cooperative basis. One such group, the Socialist Publishing Society, defined its mission as the "education and intellectual improvement of its members through the fostering of moral culture, history, political economy, statistics, philosophy, and other subjects, by means of regular meetings, debates, lectures and addresses, pamphlets, newspapers, periodicals and publications" (Nelson, p. 90). With Chicago's German working class split in ways similar to Philadelphia's and New York's, by religion, place of birth in Germany, and generational differences among the immigrants, these newspapers and their publishing groups united people of common backgrounds, often grouped by neighborhood, and provided a subcontext for the labor history of Chicago's German working-class "community."¹⁵

Individual radicals made contributions to the literary and cultural landscape of American letters that have only begun to be recovered and that bring into sharp focus the dilemma of ethnic identity: whether to remain a separate language group or to embrace assimilation. One figure, Robert Reitzel, is justly described by Richard Oestreicher as probably "the most lively and imaginative, certainly the most irreverent, literary voice of nineteenth-century American Germania" (p. 147). Reitzel, the poet, literary critic, essayist, and radical proponent of sexual emancipation, feminism, homosexual rights, and individual

freedom, published *Der arme Teufel* in Detroit in the 1880s and 1890s. His publication was so popular among Germans of all classes that it spawned Arme Teufel clubs in Toledo, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Cincinnati. Tireless in his defense of the Haymarket martyrs, this eloquent humanist provided yet another notion of what it was possible to think in the period, in many ways anticipating political and social developments from the Progressive Era through the Movement of the 1960s. With subscribers drawn mostly from the middle class, Reitzel sought to revive interest in the German classics while promoting causes that were supposed to be anathema to the very same middle class which welcomed his words.

What Reitzel was for the generation of radical humanists late in the century, Franz Schmidt had been for the freethinking community in St. Louis ten years before the Civil War. As Steven Rowan makes clear, his strongly anticlerical *Freie Blätter* pointed up one of the most important problems for the German-American radical: the question of religion. The German-American community had, since its inception in the late seventeenth century, centered much of its life around religion. Schmidt's anticlericalism was a radical response to the threat posed to independent thought by religions dominated by their clergy. To satisfy the need to associate, as religions of all kinds did for their adherents, Schmidt set up the Verein Freier Männer where the like-minded of St. Louis could meet every other Sunday.

Josef Jodlbauer, even more obscure than Franz Schmidt, in some ways completes a cycle for the German-American radical press. Where Schmidt's optimism and Reitzel's determined humanism kept them fighting for independent thought in nineteenth-century America, Jodlbauer, who came to the United States in 1910 and was forced back to Austria in 1923, had few illusions about the possibility of radical change in the life of his adopted country. Dirk Hoerder uses the case of Jodlbauer to illustrate his contentions that radical immigrants knew what they were leaving and had no illusions about what they might find, and that the perceptions of American political institutions found in the radical labor press were never refuted. As John Jentz shows, these political perceptions had already transformed German-American radicalism at the time of the Civil War. As the German-American community was being built, its interaction with American electoral politics became the battleground where ethnic ties and radical politics clashed.

One of the largest German-American radical newspapers in the nineteenth century, *Der Vorbote*, published in Chicago, argued that "the history of the labor movement is simultaneously the history of the labor press" (Nelson, p. 81). While this may be a slight exaggeration,

the sentiment is understandable, given the importance of the press to the German-American community. Aside from the obvious usefulness of the radical press for the history of radicalism in America, it is also essential, as Hoerder shows, as a means of opening up the question of the "unmarked category," in this case the view of America in the press itself. The radical press and its editors show strikingly that the daily paper was not the only possible way for contemporaries to look at current events.

Kampfblätter was what German immigrant workers called their newspapers, which were aimed at supporting the struggle—*Kampf*—for a better life.¹⁶ This volume is a contribution to the study of those women and men who made it their life to attempt to create a better world. They often saw their battle simply as one pitting good against evil, in stark terms, as are recalled in these lines from the 1903 Jubilee edition of the *NYVZ*. The capitalist press is described as swimming with the tide, supporting and supported by the status quo. "Against that [i.e., the capitalist press], comes a worker-newspaper, always like a Cinderella to the world and just like the Saviour of Christendom, she is so lowly . . . almost literally born in a stable, and a wretched manger is her cradle." But this worker press is not just a Cinderella; "her inner substance is a proud, warlike Amazon," someone "true and trustworthy, born of the people," to whom alone she is loyal and for whom she helps to create "new, strong life."¹⁷ This characterization, romantic and self-congratulatory, spoke of the constant yearning to right the wrongs of the world. The use of female imagery is just one evidence of the nostalgic and romantic that would soon be challenged. But it was in the tradition of a press then more than a half-century old. That dream, of the triumph of the good, was the hope of the 48ers as it would be the hope of the antifascist press of the 1930s and 1940s.

A *Revolutionsfest*, held in New York on March 25, 1848, featured fourteen speakers, four different languages, and a daylong parade down Broadway. The prevailing sentiment spoke of the revolutionary flag of the German 48ers: "When the black-red-and-gold flutters proudly beside the Star Spangled Banner, and the spirit of George Washington watches over them both, then Germans on both sides of the Atlantic will cry in their hearts, God bless Germany."¹⁸ Somehow it seems appropriate that this volume, which reinvokes the spirit of these men and women of vision, principle, and hope, was completed in the autumn of 1990, when German reunification began. Perhaps the spirit which is here recalled will serve as a harbinger to another century.

NOTES

1. *Republik der Arbeiter*, 1850, pp. 180ff., as quoted in William Frederic Kamman, *Socialism in German American Literature*, p. 20. This translation, and all others in this volume, are by the authors of the individual articles, unless otherwise noted. On Weitling himself, see Carl Wittke, *Utopian Communist*; Ernst Schraepler, *Handwerkerbünde und Arbeitervereine 1830–1853*; and Robert E. Cazden, *Social History of the German Book Trade in America*, pp. 627–37.

2. Hermann Schlüter, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika* [1907], p. 19; Cazden, *Social History of the German Book Trade in America*, pp. 621–22.

3. Franz Loeher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika*, p. 456.

4. Letter from Alfred Benecke in New York to his father, July 11, 1845, as reprinted in "*Amerika ist ein freies Land*," p. 181. Internal evidence suggests that he was talking about the *Schnellpost*.

5. On the early German-American press, see Carl Wittke, *German Language Press in America*, chap. 1. The major source of past critical work on the history of the press is volume 3 of Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German Language Press of the Americas*. It reprints standard work from the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries. Cazden's monumental work, cited in n. 1, contains a long section on German radicalism and social utopias which provides a comprehensive empirical basis to look at the radical periodical press prior to the Civil War.

6. Kathleen Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, pp. 184–88.

7. Robert E. Park, *Immigrant Press and Its Control*, p. 318.

8. Klaus J. Bade, *Vom Auswanderungsland zum Einwanderungsland?* and Hartmut Keil, "German Immigrant Workers in Nineteenth Century America," p. 193.

9. Marion L. Huffines, "Language-Maintenance Efforts among German Immigrants and Their Descendants," p. 243.

10. *Immigrant Labor Press in North America*, vol. 3, p. 505.

11. Dirk Hoerder and Christiane Harzig, "Why Did You Come?"—*Proletarian Mass Migration*, pp. 51–61. Frank Luther Mott's standard work, *American Journalism*, counted a total of 133 German papers by 1850; that number doubled by the end of the decade. The entire foreign-language press doubled from 1872 to 1892, but the total press tripled; thus the foreign-language press fell behind as a percentage of the total. Foreign-language press strength in the United States peaked in 1914, with 1000 newspapers and 300 periodicals, of which 40 percent were in German. Of the papers, 140 were dailies with a total aggregate circulation of 2.6 million (Mott, pp. 317, 493, 730).

12. See Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*, p. 15.

13. For a more complete listing of these works, see nn. 1 and 2 of Keil's essay in this volume.

14. Wittke mentions two women journalists as "curiosities"—Amalie

Introduction

Struve and Mathilde Franziska Anneke (*German Language Press in America*, pp. 101–2).

15. Keil, "German Immigrant Workers in Nineteenth Century America," p. 198.

16. Hoerder and Harzig, "Why Did You Come?" p. 64.

17. NYVZ Jubiläums-Beilage, 1878–1903, Feb. 21, 1903, as reprinted in *Glimpses of the German-American Radical Press*, pp. 42–43.

18. Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, p. 33.